2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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117 and, after an examination, he nearly fell down with laughter. This man was the Mr. Tee, the great hunter, whose story is told in a later chapter.

778 688 It was a very serious thing for anyone to interfere with the Ainu fetishes or to go near the *nusa*. One day a couple of young Japanese fellows came to stay in a village we were in, and the people did not wish them to be there, for they often got too near the fetishes and looked in at the house windows. That they got among our chickens and appropriated some of the eggs, we well knew, and I was just about to bring the fact to their notice and make them move on when, fortunately for me, they got themselves turned out. No doubt it was done thoughtlessly and with no evil intent, but they forcibly pulled up an *inau* fetish, examined it and then tore it to pieces. They were observed, and within a couple of hours there was such a noise made by the inhabitants that they thought it best to leave without saying "good bye." This was a flagrant case of desecration and could not be passed over. These young men were not vicious, but inconsiderate and stupid. No harm was intended, of that I am sure. Ah, well, let us hope they learned their lesson and profited thereby.

917 One morning as I was passing through a certain village with an Ainu, we heard that someone was ill in one of the huts, and it was suggested that we should go in and see the sufferer. On entering, we found that it was a woman suffering from hard labor. We did not stay long, but I was asked to offer up a word of prayer and touch her head with my hand. This I willingly did, to the great satisfaction of all, but especially of the lady herself. When we returned home toward evening, we were told that all had passed off well, and I thus gained a few more friends.

775 There used to be an idea current among the people that persons are sometimes reborn into this world, especially when the Great God of all has some parti-

542 553 354 [796] [782]

HEARTH AND HOME

from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

354 764 774

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

354 775 [184]

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The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

[688] [586]

[796] [782]

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

HEARTH AND HOME

514 Mention must be made of two important structures outside the house—the privy and the storehouse. The Ainu did not use the [241] privy as a source of fertilizer for the crops; Batchelor says he was [776] told that it would be an impertinence to the *kamui* of vegetation to [688] offer them help in this way. Nowadays men's and women's privies are usually together, with a flimsy partition or none, but formerly, I was told, the distance between the two privies was not less than twenty feet, the women's being further from the house than the [771] men's. Religion prescribed separate privies, less for the avoidance [783] of indecency than from a fear that the contagion of menstruation [841] and pregnancy might interfere with Ru-koro Kamui's vigour in repelling and expelling evil spirits. [845]

Storehouses (*pu*) were always raised on posts four to five feet 343 high. The chief object was protection from rats and mice. Bears 825 could smash them easily, but their attempts were often put to flight or kept at bay by the dogs. The rat was the worst enemy, often finding its way in to devour millet or other food. Snakes also entered, ate the young rats and drove away or even killed the big ones.

The snake was a minor *kinashut kamui*, and as protector of [462] provisions was known either as Haru[1] (provisions) *Kamui* or *Pu-Epungine* (store-protecting) Kamui. The women have charge of the storehouse; their respect for the snakes is mingled with fear.

231 Today one rarely sees a bear cub kept in a cage, either in the shed or outside, but in the days when the great Bear Festival was held it was a common sight. The only animals now kept are a dog or two in the shed.

776 The last spirit occupant of the house to be noted is Kenru [192] Katkimat, a female house-spirit not to be confused with the real housewife, who is known as Chisei-koro Katkimat (house-possessing wife). Katkimat means literally ability-to-do-woman, and is a title of respect. *Mat* is the ordinary word for woman or wife, and is also applied to a few female spirits, both good and bad. Kenru Katkimat [778] is rather hazily supposed to pervade the house. By some Ainu she is thought to be embodied in or represented by the *chisei-koro*

[192] [262] [1] *Haru* means food brought and given by *kamui*. Bear meat was called *kamui haru*, fish *chep haru* and edible plants *toi haru*. Bear meat was consumed only under the control of the householder, and he served bear meat to guests. Formerly each family seems to have had one storehouse for meat and another for fish.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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825 224 [782]

offering of *inau* was made. If a hunter was startled he would set up a *shutu inau kamui* and pray to it for aid.

825 224 789 198

Another plan for dealing with wicked bears was for the hunter to prevent them from tracking him by obliterating his footprints. When a hunter came across the footprints of what by their appearance he judged to be a wicked bear, he turned them while an elder pronounced a spell. This was called *iyokot-itak*, follow-up talk. Exact formulas have not been divulged, but it is confidently asserted that the bear would lose its wits, wander aimlessly about and fall an easy prey. The reversal of its footprints would upset its calculations, and the spell would follow up the deed as aconite poison does on the fatal arrow.

[611]

True-lore talk (*shi-upashkuma itak*), also useful in an emergency, was somewhat different. This was handed down in the paternal line and communicated to a son only after he had proved himself worthy of esoteric knowledge. It is said to have differed from little talk (*pon-itak*), perhaps in being more secret. But while the spirits adjured in *pon-itak* were essentially evil, those addressed by respectable elders in true-lore talk were said to be merely mischievous. When I ventured the opinion that the distinction seemed slight, I was told that the true-lore talk could be taught at home in the presence of Kamui Fuchi, who naturally abhors evil spirits. To utter *pon-itak* in her presence would be an act of sacrilege, certain to be followed by condign punishment.

[688]●

A few elders are said to have used *pon-itak* in certain hunting emergencies, and a very few were notorious for its evil employment.[1] Such sorcerers however, while greatly feared, were regarded as having, in Christian parlance, sold themselves to the Devil. Success in anti-social activities was supposed to be punished by misfortunes including blindness, sterility and family deaths, the line of the offender being doomed to perish. Even in the chase, where black magic (*kunne mawe*) was not used by hunters, *pon-itak* as a means of bewitching bears was usually a last resort. It was a thing of dread, the mere knowledge of which was offensive to the *pase kamui* and therefore liable to have fateful consequences.

776 224

It was commonly said that an evil spirit dwelling in a marsh sometimes assumed the appearance of the hunter's spirit guardian

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[1] Munro made a special journey to Mukawa to see a sorcerer. This sorcerer had no evil power himself but employed evil spirits, and to protect himself against them carried a bone which was used by his great-grandfather.—B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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DEATH AND BURIAL

764 291 by most Ainu. At Nioi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a [688] terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a [531] funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,[1] as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[301] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back. The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made [287] and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur; [177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly [531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white. Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of [286] black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),[2] is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)[3] from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] [1] This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shiambappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] [2] These cords were usually made from *Urtica taheda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[3] This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ani-ni* (cf. Tozabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

by B. Z. Seligman

THIS CHAPTER is compiled from various sources. In it I have brought together information contained in letters written by Munro to C. G. Seligman and references to social organization scattered in different parts of Munro's original typescript, as well as some notes he wrote on the sacred girdles (*kut*) for a chapter in this book. Notes he made for various articles, both published and unpublished, are also included. I have added information given in the English summaries of articles in the *Japanese Journal of Ethnology* for 1951, and further information from these translated for me by Mr Watanabe, in answer to enquiries.

Early in 1934 Munro wrote saying he had discovered the existence of the women's secret girdles and their importance in the regulation of marriage as well as their magical power.[1] Because of his success in treating serious illness, he gained the confidence of Ainu women, two of whom (Pl. XXVII) overcame their extreme diffidence in mentioning the subject and gave him much valuable information. He found out that every woman wears a belt of

[1] While investigating this subject Munro was obliged to exercise extreme caution, as any misfortune, from a toothache to a fatality, was attributed to infringement of the injunction to secrecy. While he was able to dispose of the former easily, the latter—the death of a child suffering from an incurable malady which he was treating—caused him considerable anxiety, and he was only able to overcome this difficulty with great tact and patience.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any information indicating whether one deity was associated with more than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman were found guilty she would be punished.

With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or investigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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lated, and who wanted to marry, to discuss the matter with elders, and the girl would be allowed to change her *kut*. Previously a fine used to be imposed and the parents of the couple would be obliged to placate Kamui Fuchi and beg her permission to alter the *kut*.

A few cases of a man marrying two sisters were recorded in a neighbouring village, and one of a man who divorced his first wife and afterwards married her sister. Misfortune followed, including dumb offspring and children who died young. The people of Nibutani were shocked, and would attribute any misfortune to such behaviour.

Marriage between half-brothers and sisters, the children of different mothers, though not transgressing *kut* exogamy, was looked upon with disgust. Munro was told of one such case, of which the offspring were deaf and dumb with the exception of one child who had a hare-lip. Such a departure from customary behaviour was considered offensive to the ancestors, and their displeasure might affect the whole community, as well as the evil-doers.

In a note published in *Man*, No. 33: 1938, Munro records a poem recited at a wedding and gives some details of the wedding ceremony. Wedding gifts are exchanged but there is no definite payment of bride wealth. The bridegroom usually sends the materials for the sacred beer to be made at the bride's house for the wedding feast. Guests are assembled and Kamui Fuchi is invoked. As a salutation, the bride's father holds a cup of the sacred beer in his left hand and, stroking it gently to and fro, makes a speech in poetic form. He places a libation wand on the cup and in the usual ceremonial manner passes it to the bridegroom who drinks half and hands the remainder to the bride. As she receives it, she raises it to the level of her forehead, swings it gently three times from right to left, and then drinks. As she drinks, she performs the female ritual salutation, drawing the forefinger of the right hand up the left arm from the fingers to her upper lip, and says '*hap*', which indicates thankfulness. Should she refuse to drink there would be no marriage. Though the ceremony is held in the house of the bride's father, the bride goes to live in her husband's house in his father's village, but she may return for the birth of her first child.

With regard to inheritance, all essentially female property (*huchi-korpe*) is inherited by daughters from their mother. Mr Sugiura